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THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE SOVIET UNION

1. The present war, which began with the invasion of Poland by the German army on September 1st of last year, is a new struggle among the great powers for a re-division of the earth; for the hegemony of the European continent, and in particular for rule over the majority of oppressed mankind, living in the colonies and semi-colonies of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and Latin America. Thus, in its decisive aspects, the present war is of the same general character as the war of 1914-1918, this time occurring on a foundation of far more acute and desperate conflict and social degeneration. All attempts to describe the war, from the point of view of any of the participants, as being fought for the rights of national self-determination (Poland, Finland), for the sake of "democracy against fascism" (Britain, France), to "break the hold of capitalist plutocracy" (Germany), for "socialist liberation" or "defense of the Russian proletarian revolution" (Soviet Union) are only social-patriotic devices for hiding the true character of the war from the masses, and enlisting the support of the masses for one or another participant or group of participants.

2. From the socially reactionary character of the war there follows the strategy which revolutionary socialists are obligated to adopt with respect to it. The revolutionary orientation may be summed up as THE STRATEGY OF THE THIRD CAMP. This strategy envisages the struggle on a world scale against the war, against all belligerent governments and belligerent armies, and for the ~~international socialist~~ revolution. The troops of the potential army of the third camp are to be found in the ranks of the workers and poor farmers, the women and the youth, in all countries, in the enslaved populations of the colonies, semi-colonies, subject-nations, throughout the world; all of whom have only sorrow, starvation and death in prospect from the war, and for whom socialist revolt against the war alone can offer solution. The ranks of the army of the third camp will be forged by the rejection of any support of any of the warring governments or armies, the resolute pursuance of the class struggle in all countries, irrespective of its influence upon the fortunes at the military fronts, and the fight for liberation by the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. The guiding slogans of the third camp are summarized by: AGAINST THE WAR! PEACE THROUGH SOCIALISM! FOR THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE! FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE AMERICAS! FOR A FREE AFRICA! FOR A FREE ASIA! FOR A WORLD FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST REPUBLICS!

3. The Soviet Union is participating integrally in the world imperialist war for the re-division of the earth. The Russian revolutionists and the Russian masses generally neither desired nor welcomed Stalin's war. The Soviet workers and peasants and the nationally oppressed peoples of the U.S.S.R. will express their discontent and hatred of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy and its predatory war as an anti-war opposition movement -- the only real basis for the revolutionary overthrow of Stalin in the present war. The reactionary character of its participation is demonstrated equally by: the policy and aims of the Soviet government and Army -- bureaucratic expansionism -- which in no way advances or defends the interests of the Russian or the world proletariat, but on the contrary are solely in the interests of the preservation and extension of the power, privileges and revenues of the bureaucracy; the character of the alliance with Germany;

Minority Resolution
Apr. 5, 1940. Friday

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL:

CAUCUS BULLETIN OR DISCUSSION ISSUE

SEP 5 1978

COPY
EXCHANGE & GIFT DIVISION

#218

The circular letter to all locals and branches of the party on the January-February issue of the New International, dated Feb. 3, 1940, and signed by J.P. Cannon, National Secretary, is simply another faction document of the Cannon group, filled with the half-truths and distortions which have become its stock-in-trade in the present discussion. Here are the facts:

1. One of our first proposals on a public discussion was made at the Political Committee meeting on December 5, 1939. It asked that the columns of the Appeal be thrown open during the pre-convention period to the presentation of the Minority point of view, and any other point of view in the dispute, under the special heading of a pre-convention party discussion. This proposal did not of course question in the least degree the right of the Majority faction to present its point of view in the columns of the Appeal as the official party position. Our motion was rejected with Cannon's customary references to the "traditions of Bolshevism," compounded of equal parts of demagoguery, ignorance and bureaucratism. The fact that we have had similar pre-convention discussions in our press on many previous occasions did not slow up Cannon in his arguments for the simple reason that, to him, any position that corresponds to his caucus requirements automatically equals the "traditions of Bolshevism".
2. On December 12, 1939, the Minority motion on the Appeal discussion was formally voted down. Goldman also voted against it; but being known throughout the party as a protagonist of precisely such discussions, he felt decidedly uncomfortable in his vote. He therefore made it as clear as possible that his negative vote was motivated quite differently than Cannon's, that is, he opposed a discussion in the Appeal "only" because it would make it harder to sell the paper to the average non-party worker. At the same meeting, furthermore, Goldman moved "That the New International be open for a discussion on all questions which will be taken up by the convention, such articles to be printed in the N.I. upon the authorization of the Political Committee." Cannon attacked this motion just as violently as he had attacked the motion of the Minority on the Appeal discussion. But somehow, the caucus slipped a gear-tooth. When the vote was taken, Goldman's motion received a majority by virtue of our support and that of Morrow, who managed to summon enough audacity to vote against Cannon's thundering attack -- audacity he speedily regretted and rectified. The actual Cannon clique voted against the motion, yet it carried and thereby became the official position of the party. Goldman, as acting secretary, notified the branches of the decision in a circular dated December 28, 1939.
3. The Political Committee, as we have pointed out many times, is, however, a reality only if and when its decisions are not in conflict with the wishes of the Cannon clique. Here we have another case in point. The clique, momentarily in a formal minority in the P.C., exerted its real pressure. Consequence? The December 12, 1939 decision of the P.C. has since been rendered null and void to all practical purposes.
4. Burnham and Shachtman were removed from actual editorial charge of the magazine by the appointment of Hansen as "technical editor."

H
X - JK 2391
S 64THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTYConvention Agenda

#219

1. The Russian Question.

Friday Apr. 5, 1940.

Reporters: { Goldman and Burnham.

2. The Trade Union Question.

Reporter: Dobbs.

(Supplementary reports from the various industries).

3. The Organization Question.

Reporters: Cannon and Shachtman.

4. Practical Preparation of the Party for war.

Reporter: Cannon.

5. International.

Reporter: Gordon.

6. Constitution.

7. Election of new National Committee.

X-JK 2391
564

#220

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
Published Monthly by the Socialist Workers Party
118 University Place
New York, N. Y.

April 22



To All Branch Literature Agents,
Dear Comrade:

OUR NEW MAGAZINE: "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

You will see from the enclosed statement to all subscribers to the "New International" that we are making a concerted drive for subs for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, the theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party. It is imperative that we get as many subscriptions as possible for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL immediately. We must obtain these subs immediately, in order to obtain second class mailing rights for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Please follow these instructions carefully. Any error on your part will seriously interfere with our application for second class mailing rights.

1. Assign comrades immediately to visit all subscribers (names enclosed) and all expired subscribers (names enclosed) and attempt to get them to fill out the sub blank enclosed, accompanied of course with payment for same. Assure those who have unexpired subscriptions to the New International, that their subscriptions will be extended an additional six months or one year according to the amount of money they mail in with sub.

2. Fill out enclosed blank for bundle orders. And mail in cash for same according to specifications on blank. This is also essential for obtaining second class rights.

3. If there are any newsstands in your city which receive the New International directly from us, attempt to have the newsdealers fill out bundle order blank. We will also send him a bundle order blank for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL DIRECTLY? TOGETHER WITH AN explanatory letter, but it is most necessary for our literature agents to check them.

These instructions must be followed explicitly and immediately. Any delay in carrying them out will injure our chances for second class mailing rights without which it is impossible to publish the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL for more than a few issues.

Do not wait for your Branch meeting--act at once! Please write me as soon as you have made your plans as to how you are carrying out these instructions..

Let me repeat: you must act at once, time is of the very essence of the matter here. Without these sub and bundle order blanks and the money for same it is impossible for us to file for second class mailing rights.

Fraternally yours,

Geo. Clarke
George Clarke
General Manager

GC/LR

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York City

#221

February 2, 1940



TO ALL LOCALS AND BRANCHES:

Dear Comrades,

CONVENTION POSTPONED TO APRIL 5TH

In response to requests from numerous branches, the Political Committee at a recent meeting considered the proposal to postpone the party convention.

Among the most important reasons given by the different locals presenting this request were (1) The weather in the latter part of February still makes travelling by auto very difficult for comrades coming from long distances; (2) It is necessary to have the resolutions of the two groups in the National Committee before the membership for discussion prior to the election of delegates.

The Political Committee submitted a proposal to postpone the convention to April 5th to the members of the National Committee by referendum. This motion was carried, and the convention is now formally postponed to April 5th.

* * * * *
CONVENTION ASSESSMENT

Attention of all branches is again called to the provisions for financing the convention. This ruling, sent in a previous circular, is as follows:

"A convention assessment of one dollar per member is hereby levied, the payment of which is obligatory for every member. The branches are authorized to exempt totally unemployed members from payment of the convention assessment if such members request it. In view of the extreme financial difficulties of financing the convention, all branches are strongly urged to pay the assessment for those unemployed members who obtain the exemption."

Convention stamps are available from the National Office. Payment of the convention assessment, except in the case of totally unemployed comrades, is under the ruling, a necessary condition for voting in the matters pertaining to the convention and in the representation of branches at the convention.

Yours fraternally,

J.P. Cannon
National Secretary

JPC:SC

PROLETARIAN
MILITARY
POLICY

#222

of the
S O C I A L I S T W O R K E R S P A R T Y

S.W.P. RESOLUTION ON PROLETARIAN MILITARY POLICY
(Adopted at Plenum-Conference Held
In Chicago, September 27 to 29, 1940)

MILITARY POLICY OF THE PROLETARIAT
(Speech by James P. Cannon At
Chicago Conference of S.W.P.)

JAMES P. CANNON'S SUMMARY SPEECH ON MILITARY POLICY

FIRST RESULTS OF OUR MILITARY POLICY
By James P. Cannon

Issued by
National Educational Department
Socialist Workers Party

Price 10¢

61-9554-2-111111
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MANIFESTO

#223

OF THE

Fourth International



ON

The Imperialist War

AND THE

Proletarian Revolution

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1 - FEB '8
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ON

The Imperialist War

AND THE

Proletarian Revolution

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Sedition!

☆☆☆



THE first federal peace-time prosecution for #225
utterances and publications
since the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798.

The federal indictment of
29 alleged members of the
Socialist Workers Party at
Minneapolis charged with
advocating force and violence
to overthrow the government
and incitement to disaffection
in military forces.

Set for trial at Minneapolis
on October 20.

Read the facts and use the
coupon on the last page.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

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New York, N. Y.



October, 1941

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CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

(As Amended by the Special Convention of December, 1940)

ARTICLE I. NAME

#226

The name of the organization shall be the Socialist Workers Party (hereinafter referred to as "the Party.")

ARTICLE II. PURPOSE

The purpose of the Party shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers Government to achieve socialism.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Every person who accepts the Declaration of Principles of the Party and agrees to submit to its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership.

Section 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows: "I hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Workers Party. I accept the Declaration of Principles and Constitution and agree to abide by the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

Section 3. Every member must belong to a duly constituted Branch of the Party in the territory where he resides, or at his place of work, if such a Branch exists. In territories where no Branch exists, applicants shall be admitted as members-at-large.

Section 4. All applicants for membership shall be endorsed and recommended by two persons who have been members for not less than three months. Action by the Party Branch on applications for membership takes place in the absence of the applicant.

Section 5. An official membership card shall be issued to each member.

Section 6. A member desiring to leave one locality for another must apply to his Branch for permission and receive a transfer card, which is to be deposited with the Branch of the locality to which the member moves. If no branch exists in the new locality, the member shall ~~remain~~ ^{become} a member-at-large.

Section 7. The National Committee is empowered to accept groups or organizations of individuals, eligible under Section 1 of this Article, as members en bloc, and to assign them to the proper branches.

ARTICLE IV. UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The basic unit of the party shall be the branch formed on a territorial or occupational basis. A Branch shall consist of not less than 5 nor more than 50 members. When a branch achieves a membership of 50, it shall be subdivided into two branches.

#27

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THE FEDERAL PROSECUTION AND THE PRESENT TASKS OF THE PARTY COPY
PAGE & GIFT

(Draft Resolution of the National Committee)

of the ~~Communist~~ Workers Party

The prosecution launched against our party by the Roosevelt administration can be understood in all its ramifications only in the light of the historical situation of the American imperialists whom Roosevelt serves.

The American bourgeoisie has virtually dragged the unwilling American people into the war. Roosevelt's real war aims are expressed not in his deceitful 8-point program, that shriveled caricature of Wilson's 14 points, but in the recent declaration by Secretary of Navy Knox that Anglo-American imperialism must police the world "for the next hundred years." Roosevelt's aim of world conquest, like Hitler's, is not a sign of strength but a mark of the desperate plight of capitalism as a world system and of every one of its component national states. The gigantic development of the forces of production drive all the imperialists to goals which lie beyond their power of attainment. Hitler and Roosevelt are attempting to establish their sway over a decomposing capitalist system -- a system torn by incessant imperialist conflicts, shaken by colossal social convulsions and headed for economic ruin and catastrophe.

The permanent perspective of monopoly capitalism is war. Until now capitalism evolved through periods of peace punctuated by occasional wars; henceforth intervals of peace, if any, will merely punctuate the continual clashes of the imperialist powers. None of the imperialist rulers have any faith in their future. Hence their desperate methods of crushing every form of opposition at home. Fascist terror is not an Italian or German weapon; the American bourgeoisie will likewise attempt to resort to it. The wartime regressions against the labor movement will prove to be not temporary expedients dictated by wartime conditions, but the forerunner of dictatorial and fascist movements of the American bourgeoisie.

It is in the light of this perspective -- the perspective of an epoch of

PROSECUTION FILE

BASIC TRAINING COURSE IN TROTSKYISMInstructionsPurpose of the Course:

This three-months course is designed to give the student a working knowledge of Trotskyism and its relation to world politics of today. Its purpose is to introduce the student to the Marxist analysis of current economic and political problems in such a way that he becomes familiar at the same time with the most important current literature of the Socialist Workers Party. The student will find at the conclusion of this course that his understanding of the basic events of the day has not only been deepened and enriched but that he is able to impart this new understanding convincingly to his friends and shopmates.

Materials of the Course:

The following items enclosed in this envelope constitute the material for study:

1. In Defense of Socialism, by Albert Goldman.
2. Socialism on Trial, by James P. Cannon.
3. Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution, by Leon Trotsky.
4. Proletarian Military Policy, A Resolution of the Socialist Workers Party and Speeches and Writings by James P. Cannon.
5. The Workers and the Second World War, A Resolution of the Socialist Workers Party and a Speech by James P. Cannon.

In addition to this material, five sets of questions are included, a set for each of the pamphlets. These questions are intended as a guide in studying the pamphlets. You will find that they closely parallel the documents. At the same time the questions prepare you to meet the most common objections that are raised to the program of Trotskyism. If you can answer the questions, you will find yourself armed in advance for discussion with opponents. The questions are also intended as a check on how thoroughly you have mastered the Basic Training Course in Trotskyism. When you have finished the course, the National Educational Department will select a few of the questions and ask you to send in written answers.

How to Use the Course:

The preferred method of study is in small groups under the guidance of a director selected by the branch. The groups should not be larger than six (for example, twelve students should be divided into two groups of six each, ten students into two groups of five each, etc.)

This course is intended for students who have been in the Socialist Workers Party one year or less. Older members of the Party, other than the director, are not permitted to attend the group study meetings.

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Socialist Workers Party

NEW YORK LOCAL

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRAMERCY 5-8149



October 29, 1945

#229

Dear Militant Reader:

Enclosed are two tickets for a mass meeting to be held at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St., New York City, November 4, 1945 at 8:00 P.M., in celebration of the 28th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on the historical significance of the Russian revolution which Lenin and Trotsky led to victory in October 1917.

The Russian Revolution inspired the exploited workers and colonial peoples of the world with the great hope of liberation from capitalist oppression, tyranny and war. The failure to extend the revolution to the advanced capitalist nations of Europe led to the Stalinist degeneration of the first workers' state and to World War II.

~~The criminal rulers who plunged the people into two~~
world wars in one generation are already plotting World War III. Mankind is faced with the terrible threat of atomic destruction. What is the way out of this numbing horror?

Lenin and Trotsky showed the way in October 1917. Today, the Socialist Workers Party in America and the Trotskyists everywhere, advance the ideas of these leaders of the Russian Revolution.

Additional speakers at this meeting will be Farrell Dobbs, editor of The Militant and Trotskyist candidate for Mayor and Louise Simpson, Negro trade-unionist, Trotskyist candidate for City Council.

We invite you to hear our message. Attend our meeting and bring your friends.

Very truly yours,

C. Thomas
C. Thomas

CT:DB

***VOTE THE TROTSKYIST TICKET!!**



☒ **Farrell Dobbs** FOR MAYOR

☒ **Louise Simpson** ... FOR CITY COUNCIL

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*

FIGHT

#230

the
Slave Labor
Law!



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FARRELL DOBBS
For President

Radio Speeches
by the
***SOCIALIST**
WORKERS
PARTY

Candidates in the
1948 Election

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#231

The ***VOICE** Of **SOCIALISM**



***GRACE CARLSON**
For Vice-President

1/

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

NO. 10 May 1952

Contents: POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(Adopted by the Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, May 1952, and submitted to the membership for pre-convention discussion and action by the Fifteenth National Convention.)

Published by the: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
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New York 3, N.Y.

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POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Adopted by the Plenum of the National Committee
of the SWP, May 18, 1952

I

U.S. IMPERIALISM PREPARES FOR WAR

The period since the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 marks a decisive turning point in the evolution of American imperialism. It has crystallized all the political and economic processes set into motion at the conclusion of World War II and especially since the inauguration of the "cold war". In that time American imperialism has erupted on the international arena as the open, aggressive center and driving force of world counter-revolution.

Preparations for war against the USSR, Eastern Europe and China have been accelerated in all spheres; appropriations for the war budget have been substantially increased, an ever larger section of national production is being committed to the war economy, strategic raw materials are being cornered and stockpiled in an American monopoly in tremendous quantities. Unremitting pressure, in total disregard of economic consequences, has been brought to bear on the so-called "Atlantic Community" to hasten their rearmament and the constitution of a Western European Army with a revised German Wehrmacht the central force. By reducing the "rations" of Western Europe on the world market, by diverting a large part of financial aid from economic to military purposes, by virtually banning East-West trade, U.S. imperialism has deepened the crisis in Western European countries, at the same time increasing their dependent position to the point of satellite status. The reluctance of the European bourgeoisie to follow the reckless war plans of the State Department has its counter-part in their utter impotence to resist or to initiate any independent policy.

In the Far East, the Middle East and North Africa the U.S. has become the chief bulwark of counter-revolution against the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The former policy of supplanting the old Empires by demagogically courting independence movements and by minimum grants of economic aid has been drastically revised. With the emergence of New China, the military and social relationship of forces in the Orient has been completely altered, leaving no other alternative for the U.S. than to base itself on the remnants of colonial rule, the native feudal-reactionary forces and its own military power. This policy is most clearly expressed in the Japanese Peace Treaty which aims to reconstitute Japan as the central base for the war against China and the developing colonial revolutions.

U.S. imperialism is not merely buttressing the remnants of the British

DISCUSSION BULLETIN #10
May, 1952

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(Adopted by the Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, May 1952, and submitted to the membership for pre-convention discussion and action by the Fifteenth National Convention.)

Published by the
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Sections IV & V--pages 7 to 18 conclusion

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100-16-506
1/30/53

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IV.

THE CAUSES OF LABOR CONSERVATISM
AND THE PREMISES FOR A NEW RADICALIZATION

The class struggle in the United States is today in a state of quiescence. How long will the present passivity endure and what will bring about a deepgoing change in the situation? In order to answer these questions on the outlook of the class struggle, it is first essential to understand the main cause for current conditions.

The American people have passed through 11 years of virtually uninterrupted prosperity and relatively full employment, however artificially induced. In this respect they have been part beneficiaries of the world-wide preponderance, exploitation and victorious wars of U.S. imperialism. These basic material factors have set their seal upon the consciousness and outlook of the American masses and are responsible for their acceptance of the capitalist system and its ideas. This is also the prime source of routinism, conservatism and lack of class consciousness discernible among the workers, especially the better-paid.

These material circumstances have aided American rulers to put over their "anti-communist" propaganda; have enabled the labor bureaucracy to tighten their hold on the unions and eased their efforts to quarantine the socialist vanguard in the labor movement; and held back the workers from clarifying their class thinking and establishing independent political organizations on a par with workers elsewhere in the world.

This does not mean that the big events and experiences of the post-war period have passed without effect upon the American people. The impact of militarization especially has already begun to produce certain shifts in the moods and minds of some parts of the population. The more critical among them are carefully considering the powers above them, and are less duped and confused by their lies. They are interested in such fundamental problems of world and national affairs as war and peace, the colonial uprisings, the USSR and government policy.

The whole course of American imperialism abroad mingled with the aggravation of their personal and class problems is leading the working people to view the great issues of our society in a broader way. Until recently, to consider problems in global terms was the mark of a radical; today attention to world problems is becoming an every day matter. However retarded or confused its first manifestations are, this serves to overcome the traditional provincialism of the workers and makes them more accessible to socialist ideas and education.

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#234
SHAMEFACED DEFENSISM

Some Notes on Comrade Trotsky's Liberty article

We of the Minority accuse the Cannonites of being "shamefaced" about their support of the Red Army in Finland, of not daring to put forward in public the false and reactionary line they defend within the Party. We notice that they have not picketed a single one of the many pro-Finland ~~mass~~ meetings held in New York City, that they have not initiated money-raising drives for the Red Army, that they have not proposed a united front with the Communist Party in support of the Red Army against the social patriotic pro-Finnish war hysteria. All of this we call "shamefaced defensism".

In the light of this, let us consider Trotsky's article in Liberty for January 27, 1940. The line put forth in this article is much closer to the line of the Minority than to the line of the Cannon faction which Trotsky supports when he writes for the Party press.

In the Appeal and in the internal bulletins, Trotsky and the Cannonites analyze the war in the following terms:

(1) The Red Army has played a revolutionary role in Poland and Finland, where, in Trotsky's words, it has been "compelled to give a tremendous impetus to the class struggle in its sharpest form".

(2) The major antagonism in the war is not German imperialism-vs.-French and British imperialism, but rather world imperialism-vs.-the Soviet Union. Hence there is an imminent threat of imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union.

(3) The Nazi-Soviet alliance is a temporary, limited, purely military-defensive affair, of secondary importance compared to the basic imperialist-vs.-U.S.S.R. antagonism in the war.

(4) From all this it follows that, once Stalin has rectified his military-strategic frontiers, he will probably not send the Red Army on any further expansive operations, and in particular, only "alarmists" can see any possibility of a Soviet drive in the Near and Middle East and India.

Under these four heads, Trotsky's Liberty article can be summarized as follows:

(1) He says nothing whatever about the Red Army in Poland and Finland. (If it was shameful, as Trotsky has charged, for the Minority in its resolution on the Finnish invasion, to omit all mention of the revolutionary role of the Red Army in the Baltic states, how much more shameful was it for Trotsky, who believes in this revolutionary role, not to mention it in an article destined to be read by millions of American workers?) Instead, Trotsky demonstrates at length why Stalin cannot risk encouraging revolution anywhere.

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THE CANNON LINE IN PRACTICE

Shamefaced Defenseism II



#235

If further proof were needed to substantiate the Minority accusation that the Cannon faction at best has a shamefaced defensist position in the Soviet-Finnish war today, it was furnished by the Cannonites in the February 3 issue of the Socialist Appeal.

More than that, the editorial, "Sailor Beware," is a very illuminating example of how this self-styled "hard proletarian" faction actually functions in the union movement now.

Perhaps some of the comrades are not acquainted with the salient facts around which the editorial was written. The Sailors Union of the Pacific, a militant union, passed unanimously at membership meetings in San Francisco and Seattle a resolution on the Soviet-Finnish war. It was 100% social-patriotic. "Poor little Finland" was defended and the Soviet Union denounced. The West Coast Sailor, official union publication, has carried out this line in the January 12 and 26 issues.

Perhaps there is an acceptable explanation for the silence of our people in that situation. (Quite often there is. In some unions, for example, we must function completely underground because of the composition of the leadership or the attitude of the ranks towards anything that they think is "red.")

But this in no way excuses the scandalous silence in the Appeal editorial on precisely the question which the sailors decided; their attitude towards the Soviet-Finnish War?

The Appeal editorial fails to mention by so much as one word the present Party position which they should ask the workers to support, if the Cannonites take their political position seriously.

True, the editorial draws certain elementary and very important lessons about the implications of the stand taken by the S.U.P....the present union line leads to support of the strike-breaking Maritime Commission, if it is carried out.

However -- and this sticks out like a sore thumb -- the editorial doesn't defend the USSR as a bureaucratically degenerated workers' state or call on the workers to give it material aid. Why is the Majority position left out?

Silence on the question of the USSR and the attitude which the S.U.P. should take towards it is merely shamefaced defenseism. For the Socialist Appeal with this editorial on the S.U.P. will be sold particularly to the sailors.

The job of the Socialist Appeal, to put it one way, is to take up with the workers where the comrades within the union leave off. It was a vital necessity for that editorial, if the Cannonites were serious about their position on the Russian question -- about which I am becoming increasingly skeptical -- to explain the Party line to the sailors.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANIZATION Q.

(Submitted by the National Committee Majority) 5 1978

COPY
EXCHANGE & GIFT DIVISION

#236

In order to assure the concentration of the party membership on practical work under the most favorable internal conditions, to safeguard the unity of the party and to provide guarantees for the party rights of the minority, the convention adopts the following special measures:

1. The discussion in the party branches on the controversial issues is to be concluded with the convention decisions and the reports of the delegates to their branches. It may be resumed only by authorization of the National Committee.
2. In order to acquaint the party sympathizers and the radical labor public with all aspects of the disputes, and the opinions of both sides, the N.C. shall publish in symposium form the most important articles on the Russian question and the organization question. These symposia shall be jointly edited and each side may select the articles it wishes to publish.
3. As an exceptional measure in the present circumstances, the discussion may be continued in literary form if the representatives of either side, or both, so desire. Articles dealing with the theoretical-scientific aspects of the disputed questions may be published in the New International. Political discussion articles are to be published in a monthly Internal Bulletin, issued by the N.C., under joint editorship of the convention majority and minority.
4. The party press under the authority of the N.C. shall publish all resolutions considered by the convention, those rejected as well as those adopted. Editorial comment shall be restricted to defense of the adopted positions.
5. The decisions of the party convention must be accepted by all under the rules of democratic centralism. Strict discipline in action is to be required of all party members.
6. No measures are to be taken against any party member because of the views expressed in the party discussion. Nobody is obliged to renounce his opinions. There is no prohibition of factions. The minority is to be given representation in the leading party committees and assured full opportunity to participate in all phases of party work.

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X
RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY

The dispute and discussion on the Russian question has revealed the existence of two politically irreconcilable tendencies in the party. As the discussion develops in other sections, it is clear that these two tendencies exist throughout the Fourth International. X-JK 5391
564

#737

In the Socialist Workers Party, the struggle between the two groups has led to accusations by each side that the other is preparing a split. Whatever opinions may be on the validity of these accusations, it is quite clear that the danger of a split in the American section of the Fourth International is a real one. It is also clear that a split would prove disastrous to the American section and to the International as a whole. Every possible political and organizational step, compatible with the fundamental principles of the Fourth International, must therefore be taken to avert such a split. Despite the sharpness and profundity of the differences, it is still necessary to allow the further intervention of events to exert an influence on both groups, to test their positions, and thus to make possible a much closer political and organizational collaboration at a subsequent stage without the risk of a split in the meantime.

It must, however, be recognized that the nature of the differences is such that it does not permit of solution merely by the procedure, normal in the movement, of having the convention minority submit to the convention majority. Although both groups acknowledge the irreconcilability of their positions, they both nevertheless declare that the conflicting tendencies are compatible with membership in the Fourth International, that is, neither group proposes to expel the other for its political views.

Under these exceptional conditions it is therefore necessary to take an exceptional measure in order to preserve the unity of the party. The party must extend to whichever group is the minority at the convention the right to publish a public political journal of its own, defending the general program of the Fourth International and at the same time presenting in an objective manner the special position of its tendency on the disputed Russian question. Under the conditions of the present factional fight, that is, given the views which each faction holds concerning the other, such a journal can only be published upon the responsibility and under the control of the tendency itself.

While recognizing that this is an exceptional measure, the party, which has nothing in common with Stalinist monolithism, must call attention to the fact that the Leninist party and our own Fourth International has on similar exceptional occasions found it necessary to take such a step in the attempt to preserve the unity of the movement. Minorities of the Bolshevik party, both before and during the first World War, exercised this right under unusual conditions, thus often reducing the danger of a split; the history of the Fourth International contains many similar instances, most recently in the case of the French section.

Such a solution of the threat of a violent split in the American section is the only concrete one that can be made in the present factional fight.

1754
X-JK 2391
564

RESOLUTION ON PARTY ORGANIZATION
(Draft of the National Committee)

I

The third convention of the Socialist Workers Party readopted the resolution adopted by the Founding Convention of the S.W.P.

"On the Internal Situation and the Character of the Party," as follows:

The Socialist Workers Party is a revolutionary Marxian party, based on a definite program, whose aim is the organization of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All of its activities, its methods and its internal regime are subordinated to this aim and are designed to serve it.

Only a self-acting and critical-minded membership is capable of forging and consolidating such a party and of solving its problems by collective thought, discussion and experience. From this follows the need of assuring the widest party democracy in the ranks of the organization.

The struggle for power organized and led by the revolutionary party is the most ruthless and irreconcilable struggle in all history. A loosely-knit, heterogeneous, undisciplined, untrained organization is utterly incapable of accomplishing such world-historical tasks as the proletariat and the revolutionary party are confronted with in the present era. This is all the more emphatically true in the light of the singularly difficult position of our party and the extraordinary persecution to which it is subject. From this follows the party's unconditional demand upon all its members for complete discipline in all the public activities and actions of the organization.

Leadership and centralized direction are indispensable pre-requisites for any sustained and disciplined action, especially in the party that sets itself the aim of leading the collective efforts of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism. Without a strong and

Living Thoughts of Marx to each branch member fulfilling quota by January 15th and raising \$2 additional sent direct to National Office and not to count on branch quota.

* * *

To Secretaries and Branch Organizers:

Please note that every branch member can win a prize by making a little effort.

In order to secure the winning prize, the Branch Organizer or Secretary should fill out blank supplied you for this purpose and mail it to us. We will then either mail the prize direct to the member or send it through the Branch, as desired.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Toledo: Comrade Scott, speaking for the branch says: "the faction dispute is important. But it is of no importance in itself unless we are prepared to carry into action any decision that is finally arrived at." And in a second letter he adds: "I am sending this amount so that the 2d bulletin will show our quota paid in full. We hope other branches will respond." We hope so too.

Flint: Organizer Geller writes a very interesting letter: first he corrects us on the voluntary increase of their quota which he states is from the original \$20 to \$30.50 not as stated in our Bulletin No. 1 "from \$20 to \$25. He then goes on to tell us: "I think it is worth to tell you why we are able to increase our quota. One of the comrades is a stockholder in a firm, which has declared dividends. If we have any other coupon clippers in the party we hope they follow the example of the Flint comrade."

Los Angeles: Grace Saunders, Secretary, says: "I am enclosing a further payment on the L.A. press fund campaign. We hope to send another sum in the near future, and will try to make it as large as possible."

* * *

"We are sure that all branches will be glad to learn that as a result of the increased interest in the campaign and the prompt collections and remittances to the National Office, we have been able to send another small check to our Seattle Organizer. We are now trying to set aside some funds for field work. The number of organizers to be sent into the field will depend entirely upon the final results of the Drive.

Mutilated Item
- Fragment

ANALISTIC LABOR PARTY

OF NORTH AMERICA.

National Executive Committee, New York City.
W. L. ROSENBERG, Secretary, 261 East Tenth Street.
Supervisory Board, Cleveland, Ohio,
CARL ALTENBERND, 33 Mill Street.

All correspondence, communications, remittances of money, and orders for pamphlets intended for the National Executive Committee are, without exception, to be addressed to

W. L. ROSENBERG,
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VII. A Sound Working Arrangement

The craft unions have won many gains for their own members, and have done much for the whole working-class group. Now, in this new day, when the American people are faced with most difficult problems, unheard of unemployment, rapid changes in industrial methods, the craft unions should not stand in the path of progress. To continue the present do-nothing policy in regard to the unorganized means stagnation and death for the A. F. of L. The crafts need the help of these millions just as these newcomers to the labor movement need advice and aid. If unions which now are strong scorn those less fortunate, they will have few friends in their own hour of need.

The Committee for Industrial Organization, in this crisis of labor, is seeking to make possible cooperation of all types. Let the crafts keep what they have. But let the workers in autos, steel, rubber, radios and many hitherto untouched industries join labor's ranks on the same basis that meets their needs—industrial unionism. Then, indeed, will labor be able to march forward towards its goal.

